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MOBILE UNEMPLOYMENT IN A POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY - THE CASE OF SWEDEN

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Introduction

During the first half of the 90s, Sweden experienced the deepest economic crisis since the early 30s. Deficits in the state budget made it inevitable to down-size the large public service sector, first in administration but soon also in health and social services. These were certainly uncomfortable decisions in a country which government had put pride in providing everybody - and everywhere - with a secure job as well as with high standard of public services. A combination of deindustrialisation and cut-backs in the public sector resulted in severe labour market problems with high unemployment, few vacancies and an accentuated mismatch. These crisis years followed after a very overheated economy during the late 80s, which accentuated the depression. After a negative development of GDP per capita during a few years in the beginning of the 90s, GDP is now approaching 3 per per annum. In many regions in Sweden, this is so far merely a case of jobless growth. Unlike previous periods of recession and high unemployment, the Swedish labour market as a whole has not recovered at all even six and seven years after the initial crisis.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the migration pattern for the people between 25 and 44 years old during 1993 - the deepest crisis year - and formulate some hypothesises about migration pattern in a post-industrial society in a state of economic crisis. In this paper the focus is on migration pattern of the unemployed persons in order to analyse the rationality of migration, ex post. In order to do this the six differing regions according to economic structure are analysed - one metropolitan and one university region, one region characterised as a regional service centre, one rural and sparsely populated region, one small scale and one large scale manufacturing region.

From slow-down to increased interregional migration in Sweden

Long-distance migration in Sweden has despite the sharp rise during the past years trendly been declining since the 60s (figure 1). The development of the Swedish labour market for about 30 years until 1990 was characterised by a comparatively flat wage structure, also in geographical terms, increasing importance of public sector jobs and high rate of female labour market participation. The labour market was also characterised by comparatively low flexibility and mobility. Open unemployment generally stayed at a low level, especially in urbanised regions.

The conditions at the labour market has been a core issue for the lasting Social Democratic government with its links to trade unions. Long term secure jobs or full monetary compensation for not getting a job were key elements in this policy. High income taxes was the price widely accepted for this welfare policy, at least until the mid 80´s.

Labour market policy was offensive also during the dominating periods of low unemployment, e. g. in vocational training programmes. Labour market policy intervention took place in all regions, but especially in regions experiencing rapid structural change - first in agriculture and forestry, later in mining, steel industry and shipyards. In the 80´s, manufacturing industry went through structural change, causing several local labour market crises in one-company towns and old industrial regions.

Most interregional migration in Sweden stagnated during the 1970s and 1980s. The expansion of the public service sector, decentralisation of higher education and relatively high labour market participation in all regions are some of the explanations. The first half of the 1990s has changed the national scene in different directions. In Sweden, the national budget crisis has forced the government to cut-backs in the welfare system. As earlier - in the 1960s - interregional migration may again emerge at a large scale, but individual adjustment to spatial imbalances at the labour market.

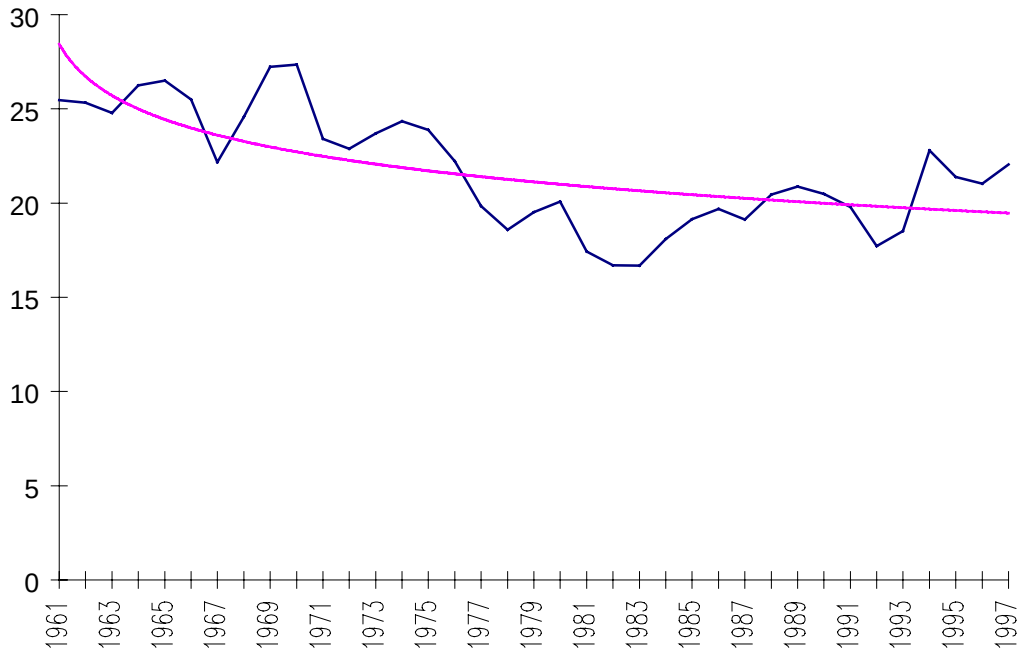

Figure 1. Long distance migration in Sweden 1961-1997. Movers per thousand. Source SCB.

In general, long distance migration of labour has been considered as a 'necessary evil' in all the Nordic countries. Labour market policies have gently advocated the importance of intersectoral mobility, hence indirectly encouraging geographical mobility. Regional policies, however, have given incentives to private firms locating in regions with shortage of jobs. The concepts of 'regional balance' (often used in Sweden) and 'consolidation of the settlement pattern' (in Norway) have been widely accepted political statements, usually meaning that there should be a net balance of labour mobility between all regions.

This balance has, however, never been fully reached. In Finland, Norway and Sweden the general trend of population growth in a few metropolitan regions and a number of regional centres and a corresponding decline in peripheral regions has dominated for a long time. Only for short periods has there been a turnaround of this mobility pattern.

There is no doubt that, in a historical perspective, the mobility patterns in the Nordic countries have largely reflected the course of structural change of the regional labour markets. The industrialisation process led to a rapid urbanisation, which is still active especially in Finland and in the northern parts of Sweden and Norway. However, it now seems that the rational adjustment through mobility to different growth rates between regional labour markets is getting distorted by specific institutional features in the Nordic countries. For instance, unlike many other countries, the expansion of the service sector since the 1960s did not primarily add to the increase of the rate of migration to larger cities. The main reason was the relatively strong influence of the public sector in service production, such as health care and social services. The political programs stipulated most public services should be provided at reasonably similar standards in all regions and municipalities. Finally, in some regions this led

to a strong presence of the public sector, providing up to 45 percent of the jobs in some labour markets.

There are also some other features of the Nordic countries which has led to a less obvious response to structural change on the mobility pattern. The mechanism for equalisation of living conditions through the taxation system and the welfare state has led to a comparatively strong equalisation also between regions in terms of disposable income (for Sweden see, e. g. Johansson 1997, NUTEK/SIR 1997). The Nordic countries are among the European countries which show the largest cohesion (Vogel 1997). In addition, there has also been a tradition by strong labour unions to demand the same wage for the same job in each region.

Interrelated to the expansion of the public services, labour market participation among female labour has increased to among the highest in Europe. Hence, for most families migration leads to a necessary search for two jobs in the region of destination. Long-distance commuting has, thus, been a real alternative to migration as a consequence of the rise of the dual income families.

Even if there are some obvious differences and lags between each of the Nordic countries in these respects, it is likely that such institutional and other features has led to a reduction of the importance of geographical distribution of jobs on migration in all Nordic countries. The same factors have contributed to a relatively low and in some countries decreasing migration rate in the Nordic countries.

There were some observations a few years ago indicating that other factors play an increasingly important role in migration decisions in the Nordic countries. Individual housing preferences especially among affluent middle class households are among such factors. Increasing individual mobility due to improved road infrastructure, widespread car ownership and improved public transportation has led to the substantial geographical enlargement of most local labour markets/commuting areas. It is estimated (Sweden) that the number of functional labour market areas have been reduced by more than 30 percent since 1970. For labour with higher education, which generally accept longer commuting distances, the number of functional labour market areas there are still some 30 percent lower (Kullenberg & Persson, 1997). What is important here, is that expansion of the travel-to-work-areas has reduced the incentives to interregional migration.

Another factor contributing to the limitation of long distance migration is the development of the systems for higher education. In Finland, Norway and Sweden, there has been similar policies in order to locate universities and university colleges in several regional centres. The primary aim is to improve accessibility to higher education in all regions, but the consequence has in most cases also been a growth of the demand for higher educated labour in these regional centres. Hence, it seems that there is a tendency for a new mobility of qualified jobs to locations with a continuos supply of labour with modern education.

Segmented labour markets - regional polarisation

In theory, most long distance migration is considered to be associated with regional differences in supply and demand of labour. Through rational decisions, labour is supposed to move from regions with a limited number of well paid jobs, high unemployment and an

overrepresentation of decreasing industrial branches, to expansive regions with a surplus of modern jobs. The rate of migration is moderated by demographic factors: migration is dominated by younger persons and especially with higher education. These are considered to benefit more from migrating, since their investments in education has to be paid off as soon as possible. Furthermore, their investments in housing and real estate as well as in social networks in a given locality are generally less than for older persons. Individuals which have not yet formed a family of their own have less personal restrictions to move to another region.

Matching or accommodation problems have, thus, always existed in the labour market, or at least since the beginning of the industrial period. In earlier times, these problems were primarily concerned with accommodation characterised by structural change in the economy at the branch or sector level. Some branches declined while others expanded, and this was seen as no great problem as it was a natural result of structural change. This process is usually associated with transfers of resources between different companies, branches, and sectors. Where a transfer of resources has occurred from low productivity sectors to high productivity sectors, transfer gains have been experienced. The problem was merely to channel the newly unemployed to those branches and sectors which needed workers. This process was - and still is - a conspicuous feature of the migration patterns in the industrial society.

Today's matching problem is of a different kind. Changes in branch structure remain important as well as regional differences in unemployment, but migration has exhibited a falling trend since the 1960s (Bengtsson & Johansson 1993, 1994, 1995). The problem today is the existence of both shortages and surpluses of labour within the same companies, branches, and commuting regions. The reason for this is that the labour market has become more and more segmented regarding competence levels. A segmented labour market consists of a number of sub-markets which are more or less separated from one another by various obstacles, resulting in a heterogeneous and unsubstitutable labour force. These submarkets have their own supply and demand situations, their own wage structures and their own surpluses or shortages of labour. Mobility between segments is low, while it is high within individual segments. The result of these processes has been a further regional segmentation and polarisation of the labour force, a development which has hampered migration from the rural and old industrial areas.

In the Western world, the labour force skill level has become an important factor determining companies' choice of location, a consideration which holds especially true for easily-mobile companies in the so called "knowledge-intensive" sectors. This post-industrial trend diverges sharply from that of the industrial phase, when labour relocated to where employment existed. Localisation factors in that period were decided by considerations such as raw material supply, market conditions, and transport facilities.

The sparsely-populated rural areas of interior Norrland can be said never to have entered the industrial phase in the sense that manufacturing never accounted for a large proportion of employment there. However, they did enter the industrial phase to the extent that they were affected by its development. One way in which the industrial phase affected these areas was in migration: the underemployed work force migrated - "rural push" - to metropolitan areas and industrial towns -"urban pull" - as long as there existed a lot of industrial and construction job opportunities.

Until the early 1970s the type of labour which moved away from the rural areas generally had no problem finding work once having arrived at the destination. Manufacturing required

labour of low educational level with "standardised competence", that is, labour which could be directly placed in simple, repetitive tasks.

Today's picture is different both for the sparsely populated areas in the Northern part of Sweden and in the old industrial districts, e g in Bergslagen - the Swedish "rust belt" - and in Småland, dominated by a lot of SMEs. The labour required by the post-industrial urban labour market is different from that of the industrial phase. "Rural push" has declined as an activating force, and it seems that "urban pull" has come to dominate migration from depopulating areas to metropolitan areas and regional service centres.[1] However, the switch in demand signifies that a gap has developed between the type of labour in rural - and even industrial - areas and the type needed in cities and regional service hubs. It has been shown that young people of low education who have migrated to Stockholm have had difficulties establishing themselves in the more education-dependent labour market and quickly returned home, a process which was noticeable even during the economic upswing in the last half of the 1980s.

In connection with the relative decline in manufacturing (an absolute decline in terms of employment) and the expansion of the service sector, the labour force's composition with regard to education and competence has become increasingly important to development and renewal, and thereby to the innovation process. This shift has been reinforced by the movement within industry towards more knowledge-intensive, high-technology production. Investment in intangible capital has replaced investment in tangible capital in importance to the development process. Human capital and intangible investment are terms which have come to be connected with the ability of different regions to change and develop (Massey 1995). The composition of the labour force has thus become more important to the economy's change and development in both the centre and the periphery ↳ an importance which will become even greater in the future.

There is, thus, an interdependence between the labour force and the structural transformation of the economy - an interdependence between the labour force and the development of new products and investments in new production processes, with the labour force being complementary to the new technology. This interdependence seems to have been accentuated during the transfer from the industrial to the post-industrial society. This implies that there is little or no substitutability between different kinds of labour and that the structure of the economy regulates the types of labour demanded in a given branch or region. This phenomenon is also valid with regard to the relations between different regions. The heterogeneity of the labour force has been an essential factor in the development of the segmented labour market theory since the beginning of the 70s (see e.g. Doeringer & Piore 1971).

Different regions have, thus, differently composed labour markets, which implies that the development possibilities are not equal regarding choices of technology available for adoption. Since there exists a mutual dependence between the labour force's competence structure and the introduction of new technology, a lack of competence is a restriction to innovative activities and technology renewal. This relationship applies especially in old industrial regions or rural areas characterised by economic backwardness. In these regions, there is often a surplus of labour, but the "wrong" type of labour from the employer's point of view. A labour force such as this constitutes an obstacle to economic change as the

[1] This is clearly seen in the studies which have been made of in migration to Stockholm during the economic upswing 1986-87. See Johansson (1989), Gustavsson and Johansson (1989). The same conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of migration to and from Västernorrland county. See Bylund (1992).

technology, which is suited to it, tends to maintain the structure of the periphery or the backward regions or develop an obsolete industrial structure based on old investment patterns, where the only location factor is cheap labour. Even if capital moves to labour, this type of investment pattern is not post-industrial. Instead it is a defensive investment pattern, which to a great extent characterises the early phases of the industrial society in some regions - at the same time as being a sign of the development of a post-industrial investment pattern in other regions, namely in regions where these types of investments are going to be phased out and beginning to be history. Such technology may be socially desirable but there is a risk that regional segmentation and polarisation will be reinforced, leading to knowledge-based production in the centre and standardised production in the periphery. This is a phenomenon which has characterised the development of the Swedish industry during the past decades (Fredriksson 1985; Lundmark & Malmberg 1988; ERU 1989, Eliasson & Johansson 1994).

Within this framework it can be shown that labour mobility and investment are two processes which reinforce each other. Instead of the negative feedback processes, entailing that original inequality will result in a process towards equality and convergence, which is a fundamental part in the neo-classical theory, the positive feedback processes will dominate, resulting in divergent development and regional polarisation. This segmentation approach emanates from development and underdevelopment theories and has been primarily used to analyse relations between and within nations - e. g. the ”spread effect” and the ”backwash effect” in Myrdal´s terminology (Myrdal 1957) - but has also been a central ingredient in the segmented labour market theory since the early 70s (see e.g. Vietorisz & Harrison 1973). This is not, however, a predetermined and irreversible process, with history providing us with a number of examples and this is valid for both inter- and intranational relationships.

Migration in the 90s - no connections to the labour market?

Rapid economic growth is commonly associated with resources being distributed between different companies and sectors of the economy a process which has resulted in extensive geographic mobility. This was especially true for Sweden in the 60s, when the country was characterised by high growth rates, rapid structural transformation and a shortage of labour - it was a time when the industrial society was at its pinnacle. This decade can also been said to be the last which can be closely identified with the migration patterns of the industrial society. If the period 1961-1994 is divided in two subperiods - 1961-1977 and 1978-1994 - this phenomenon is apparent. In the first period there is a strong significant correlation between labour market conditions and migration - a correlation which is absent during the second subperiod (see table 1). A further analysis shows also that most of this changed migration pattern seems in much to be a phenomenon of the 90s where the connection between migration and vacancies is completely absent.

Table 1. Correlation ($r_{xy)}$ between migration and vacancies in Sweden 1961-1994.

1961-1994	1961-1977	1978-1994	1961-1990
0.52	0.77	0.17	0.65

The present situation on the labour markets in Sweden and Finland, with several consequent years of unprecedently high unemployment in most regions, is thus likely to have significant

impact on the outlined, relatively stable mobility pattern of the 70s and first part of the 80s. Furthermore the state budget restrictions and cutbacks in the public sector in especially Sweden and Finland, but also in Norway, will lead to changing roles of this sector both as an employer and as a welfare provider in all regions. The rationality of migration to another region in order to increase the search area for a job will probably change. It is likely that reduction of the public intervention in many sectors will lead, among other things, to increasing regional differences in wages as well as disposable income. We hypothesise that several of these recent changes will also change the impact of geographical imbalances in the labour market on long distance migration.

Structure of six regional labour markets

In order to get a better understanding of possible effects of structural changes and the transformation of the Swedish society in a post-industrial direction and its impact on the migration pattern during the crisis of the 90s has six different regions been chosen. The criteria for choice of regions is that they had a large enough population to be analytically useful, and that their internal economic structures were as similar as possible, while they remained as unique as possible in relation to other regions. The regions are as:

Regions	*Counties*
Metropolitan:	Stockholm (AB)
University:	Östergötland (E)
Small-scale manufacturing:	Jönköping (F)
Regional Centre:	Örebro (T)
Large-scale manufacturing:	Västernorrland (Y)
Rural and sparsely populated:	Jämtland (Z)

Through analysis of the different regions' development patterns, one finds that the *Stockholm region* has had the most rapid employment development during the past decades. The labour market is characterised by only a small percent employed within goods production, and that deindustrialisation had already begun by the mid-60s. The Stockholm region has also a relatively small share of its labour force employed in declining sectors. The Stockholm region was thus disproportionately involved in activities which were to boom at the national level in the second half of the 80s. The economy came to be more and more characterised by concentrations of knowledge-intensive activities, which affected the labour market through increased demand for highly educated labour (SOU 1989:69; SOU 1990:36). As a result, the education level of employees in the Stockholm area is notably higher than in the rest of the country.

In many regions in Sweden, the upswing in the economy in the mid-90s is - as mentioned above - merely a case of jobless growth. In Stockholm, however, it seems that growth during the recent years is more associated with new jobs than in other regions. One reason for this is probably that Stockholm’s labour market is specialising in branches demanding labour with higher education and which are more competitive at international markets. About 40 percent of all the most qualified business service firms in the country are based in the Stockholm region and more than 60 percent of the most knowledge-intensive industries.

Östergötland has a dual character to its economic structure. It has an expansive area around the university in Linköping and the expansion of the public sector in Norrköping - an old factory town - and then it has a traditional, mature economy in the rest of the county with a relatively high proportion of employees in the agricultural sector - and the agro-industrial complex - where there is a big element of large farms. This situation has influenced the development over the past decades. The migration pattern has been heavily accentuated by the development in these two towns, where especially the university in Linköping has been a driving wheel in the restructuring of the economy towards a more knowledge-intensive and high-tech direction. The image of Östergötland is today quite different form that of the 60s or 70s.

Jönköping county is notable because goods production has been, and still is, a very important factor in regional employment. Deindustrialisation did not affect this region as much as the rest of the country during the 80s. Many smaller communities dominated by small-scale industrial production actually saw increases in industrial employment up to the middle of the 80s (Carlsson et al, 1991).

The labour market in Jönköping county has traditionally been characterised by low unemployment, high labour force participation and low educational level. The economy in this region is also characterised by small-scale production and flexible specialisation, and thus less sensitive to economic fluctuations. The small-scale industries in the region have also shown themselves to be quite resistant to the structural crises which have shaken industry in other parts of the country.

Despite considerable dependence on the industrial sector, deindustrialisation in Jönköping county has not been as drastic as in the metropolitan regions or the traditional industrial regions where heavy industry is dominant - instead, the region has managed to maintain industrial employment relatively well during the 70s as well as the 80s. The high degree of flexibility has resulted in a relative insensitivity to structural change in the economy as far as the unemployment trend is concerned - it is first during the 90s that the economy has been shaken by the bad times.

Örebro county has some similarities with Östergötland in the sense that it has a dual economic structure. The city of Örebro is a regional centre with a huge public sector - including a medium-size university - while the rest of the county is characterised by large-scale industry where some part of the Swedish rust belt is located. This has resulted in a severe structural transformation in the industrial districts with a massive out-migration from these areas in direction to the city of Örebro or to other more dynamic and expansive parts of Sweden. The image of Örebro county has thus more and more been transformed from an old stagnant manufacturing region to a region dominated by public service production.

Västernorrland is characterised by goods production and large scale raw-material based industry and very sensitive to the international economic fluctuations and the structural changes during the past decades have thus strongly affected employment in the region. Its regional problems are directly connected to its industrial problems, with deindustrialisation and the decline in manufacturing accounting for much of the region’s weak employment development.

Despite deindustrialisation, Västenorrland continues to be dependent upon large-scale industry and is thus extremely sensitive to international trends and fluctuations. The structural crises of the past decades have hit the labour force hard, with long-term unemployment and early retirement as results. Västernorrland has also been an out-migration area during the past decades.

In *Jämtland* one finds large regional differences in economic features. There is one city - Östersund - which is an old administrative centre, which traditionally have had large public sectors, which have consistently grown up to the 90s, when the cut-backs in the public sector worsened the labour market problems.

The development of the economy and labour market in the other parts of Jämtland - which is extremely sparsely populated - is closely tied to developments in the natural resource and raw material based industries - i.e. forestry, saw-mills and hydroelectric power - and small-scale industry. The development of the these rural and sparsely populated areas has been influenced by the structural rationalisation of, primarily, agriculture and forestry which occurred mainly during the 60s and 70s. It was at this time that out-migration began to pick up speed.

New jobs have, however, been created up to the beginning of the 90s, mainly due to the growth of the public sector. The public sector, and public transfers, is more important for employment in Jämtland than in any of the regions studied in this paper (Beckman & Lenntorp, 1989; Holm & Tapper, 1990; Nyström, 1994). The lop-sided age structure with an elderly population has led to increased employment within the medical and elderly care fields. The age structure outside the regional centre has, however, resulted in that many parts of the county as well as in other parts Sweden are dying out - there are today more deaths than births and that in combination with a huge out-migration has resulted in a large population decrease.

A rough summing up of the six regions is presented in table 2, where the focus is on the part of the population which is outside the labour market with regard to unemployment, studies and persons without personal income and often depending of social benefits. The employment is divided in two sectors - private and public. The definition of the not employed persons is as follows:

Studies:	Receiving study grants
Unemployment:	Receiving unemployment benefits
Depending:	No personal income except social benefits

Table 2. Total population 16-64 years in six counties divided by sector of activity 1993.

Sector of activity	Metropolitan (AB)	University (E)	Small-scale manufacturing (F)	Regional Centre (T)	Large-scale manufacturing (Y)	Rural (Z)
Private	46,1%	42,7%	47,1%	42,4%		38,9%
Public	25,4%	26,3%	25,2%	27,7%		30,9%
Econ active:	*71,5%*	*69,1%*	*72,4%*	*70,1%*		*69,8%*
Studies	8,1%	10,1%	8,4%	8,2%		9,0%
Unemployment	5,4%	7,3%	7,4%	8,8%		8,0%
Dependent	15,0%	13,5%	11,8%	12,9%		13,1%
TOTAL	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		100,0%

To move or not to move

Unemployed persons have to make a choice - to stay at home in order to get a job there or to move in order to find a job somewhere else. At first, it is obvious that most of the migrants have a job and that unemployed persons are a minority among the migrants (see table 4). Unemployed persons are, however, over-represented among the migrants in the sense that the relation movers/stayers are higher among these compared to employed persons. This is a well-known fact, but there are signs that these relation has trendly diminished during the past decades according to the increased segmentation of the labour market.

As mentioned before, there exists differently composed regional labour markets in the sense that even there often exits a surplus of labour, but the "wrong" type of labour according to regional transformation and expansion. This has had a hampering effect on the migration of unemployed persons during the past decades as there often has been no relevant jobs in the potential in-migration regions. This has also been accentuated during the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial society where the service sector is dominating with regard job opportunities. The expansion of the public sector has thus regional consequences and implications on the migration propensities. This expansion has resulted in a convergence between the different regions with regard to the size of the public sector's share and has also resulted in some form of standardisation of the regional labour markets. This transformation gave also rise to new jobs, which could be filled by women, and was a very strong contributing factor in the rise of the dual income family. A common situation in today's Sweden is that of the wife employed by the public sector and the husband by the private sector. This situation has made the different regions more insulated from crisis effects than before, and it has also reduced geographic mobility, because work in the home region generally exists for one member of the household.

Concomitantly with the rise of the public sector, there has been a rise in public transfer payments. This has occurred partially through sector-directed policy, and partially through regional and social policy. Examples of the former are the siting of publicly-owned companies and plants, and the expansion of higher education at the regional level. Examples of the latter are different types of location assistance for companies, better unemployment relief, and early retirement plans to relieve the labour markets. These measures have also resulted in reduced migration intensity because the prospects for supporting or educating oneself in one's home region have improved, either directly by increasing the possibility of remaining there, or in-directly through increased services and job vacancies.

The rural areas and the traditional industrial districts have a skewed age structure in that they have a high proportion of old people. This results in a high dependence upon the social welfare system in the form of various types of governmental transfer payments. Some of these, such as pensions, are index-regulated, while others are associated with the goal of ensuring an acceptable standard of living throughout the country. This has resulted in a high rate of subsidy-dependence, especially in depopulating rural areas - these areas are generally more dependent upon various governmental transfers to survive. Governmental transfers has thus increased the possibility of staying on in the home region.

During the first half of the 90s this situation has changed. The cut-backs of employment in the public sector in combination of structural crisis in the manufacturing sector resulted in a lot of labour market problems with high unemployment, very few new jobs and an accentuated mismatch. Despite the economic crisis during the first half of the 90s, there has been a sharp rise in the interregional migration in Sweden. There are also signs that the relation movers/stayers is going to be higher among unemployed persons compared to employed persons compared to the 80s when the trend in this relation was downward sloping. As can be seen from figure 2, the share of movers is still very low among the unemployed compared to the share who prefer staying home. The rural and sparsely populated region - Jämtland - and the small-scale manufacturing region - Jönköping county - has the highest share of out-migrants among the unemployed and the lowest share of stayers. There is, however, one difference between these two regions with regard to the stayers - the percentage who finds a job within a year is higher in Jämtland than in Jönköping county.

According to the stayers, the percentage of the unemployed who is still unemployed or depending after one year is highest in the regional centre - Örebro county - and in the university region - Östergötland. As the labour market is more diversified in these regions this situation may be seen as a little paradoxical. One explanation is however that many of the unemployed stayers in these regions have problems to find a job - the matching process on the labour market in these regions is not in function. It ought to be persons with low education who have problems on the labour market during these years with cut-backs in the public sector and deindustrialisation. For these kind of labour the alternatives are very few both in the home region and in the potential destination regions.

Table 4. Composition of out movers 25-44 years. 1993

	Unknown	Job private	Job public	Student	Unemployed	Dependent	Total
Metro	8,4%	32,2%	21,5%	8,5%	13,2%	16,2%	100,0%
Univ	9,1%	27,9%	22,5%	12,9%	14,2%	13,5%	100,0%
Manuf	6,8%	27,8%	18,4%	11,6%	18,3%	17,2%	100,0%
RC	9,6%	23,1%	20,3%	12,1%	17,2%	17,7%	100,0%
Indus	9,1%	25,3%	20,5%	11,4%	15,5%	18,2%	100,0%
Rural	9,3%	21,9%	23,2%	12,9%	19,6%	13,1%	100,0%

Table 5. Composition of stayers 25-44 years. 1993.

	Unknown	Job private	Job public	Student	Unemployed	Dependent	
Metro	5,3%	48,2%	26,3%	3,1%	5,2%	11,9%	100,0%
Univ	4,5%	46,2%	29,8%	3,5%	7,0%	9,0%	100,0%
Manuf	4,0%	50,7%	27,8%	2,5%	7,2%	7,8%	100,0%
RC	4,3%	45,0%	30,9%	2,7%	8,9%	8,2%	100,0%
Indus	4,5%	46,5%	31,2%	2,3%	8,2%	7,2%	100,0%
Rural	6,2%	41,7%	33,9%	2,9%	8,0%	7,3%	100,0%

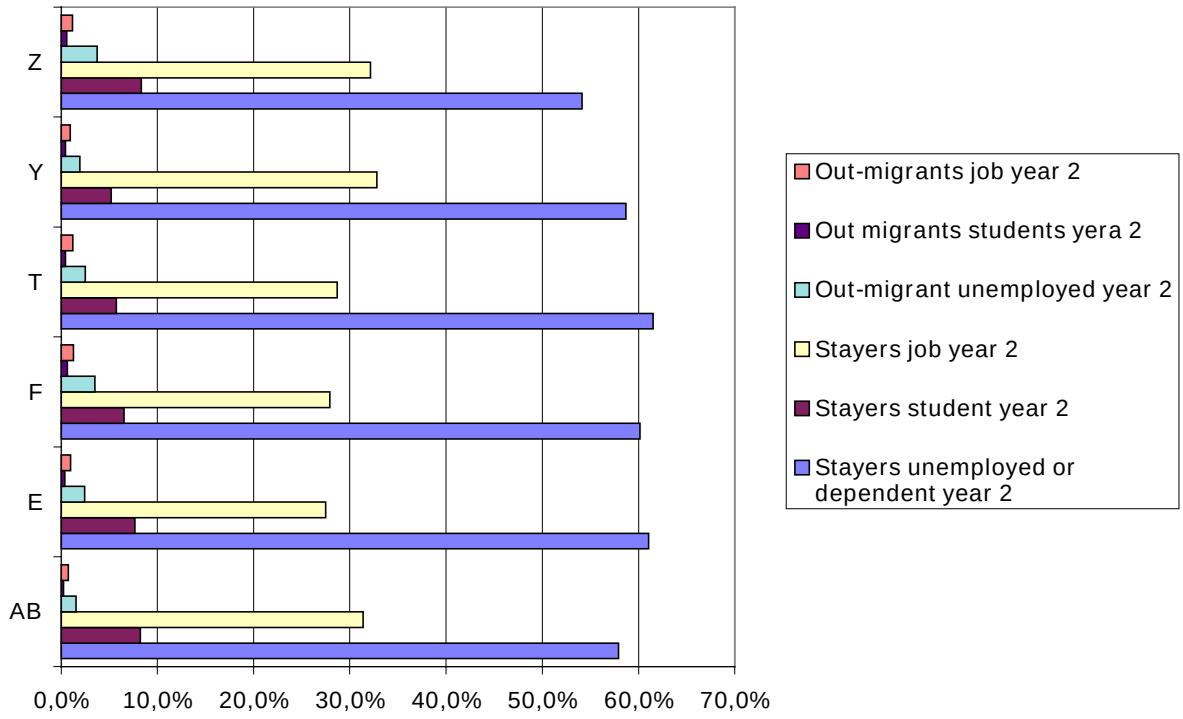

Figure 2. The composition of the unemployment stock 1992 and the its status 1993.

The migration pattern of the unemployed - from unemployment to unemployment

As mentioned above, the hypothesis is that several of the recent changes on the Swedish labour market have changed the impact of geographical imbalances long distance migration. The new problem is that many of the rational movers, *ex ante*, seem to be irrational *ex post*. This new problem is indicated by the figures of unemployed persons which are moving *from* unemployment *to* unemployment and dependence of social benefits (see figure 2 and table 5a-5f). In Sweden, this development has been accentuated during the past years and reinforcing regional unbalances. When we discuss the rationality of migration during these crisis years - 1992/1993 - we must bear in mind that the unemployment increased sharply between 1992 and 1993 and for many movers there were more lack of information about the future job possibilities at the destination than at home. With regard to the home region the unemployed had bad expectations of finding a job - instead the alternative was long-term unemployment and dependence of social benefits. In this case it is rational to move in order to find a job despite the lack of information. The result of the crisis was, however, the unemployment increased both among stayers and movers and many persons with a job in 1992 became unemployed 1993 and, consequently, that the job possibilities for the unemployed decreased during between these two years - the growth of long-term unemployment was very high during these years.

The ratio of unemployed people (25-44 years) moving is not clearly correlated to a push factor as unemployment rate in the region (Figure 3). Another push factor, the ratio of staying unemployed getting a job within one year, does not vary very much between regions, but show a weak correlation (Figure 4). Finally, a pull factor as the rate of unemployed out-movers actually

getting employed in the new region seems to be negatively correlated to the ration of unemployed moving out (Figure 6).

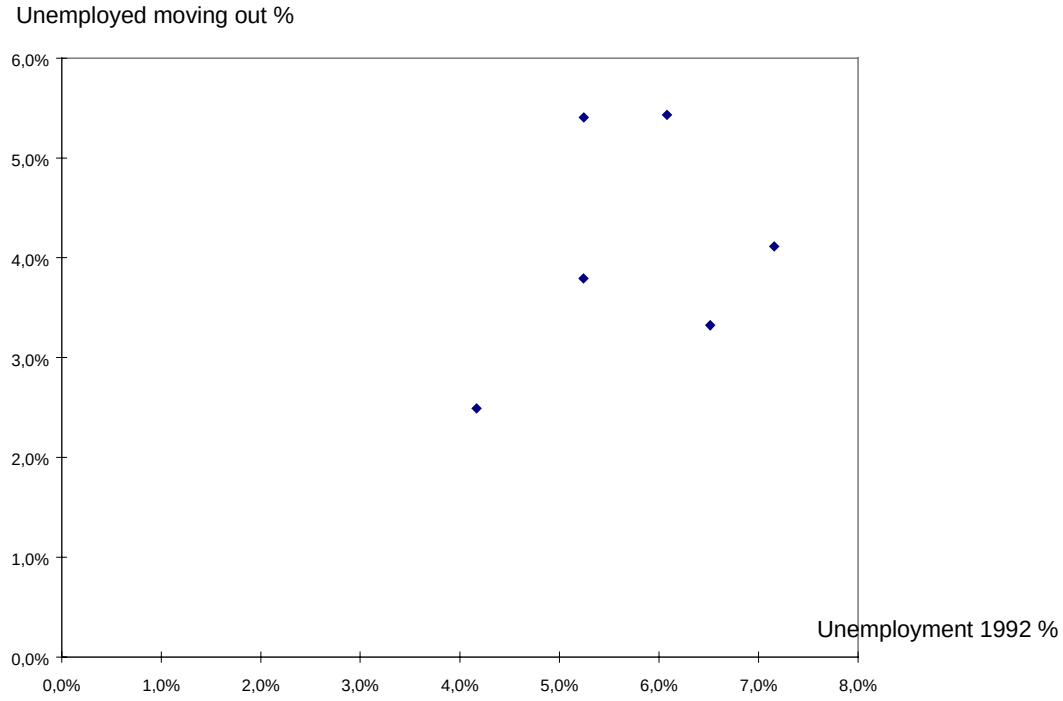

Figure 3. Push factor 1. Unemployment and percent of unemployed moving out 1993. Six counties.

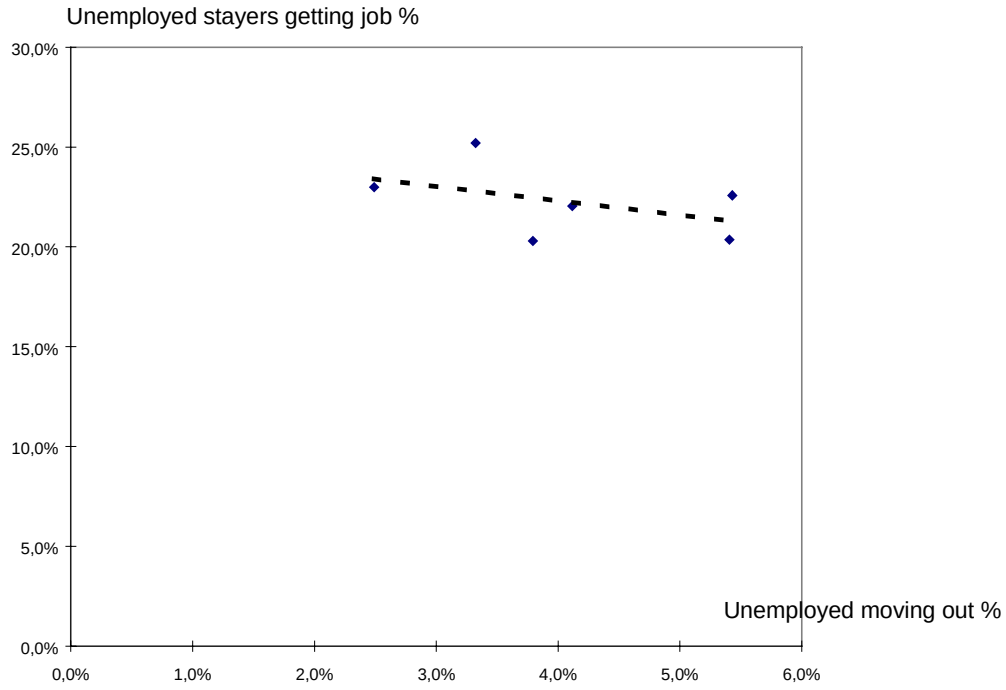

Figure 4. Push factor 2. Percent of unemployed stayers getting job and percent of unemployed moving out 1993. Six counties.

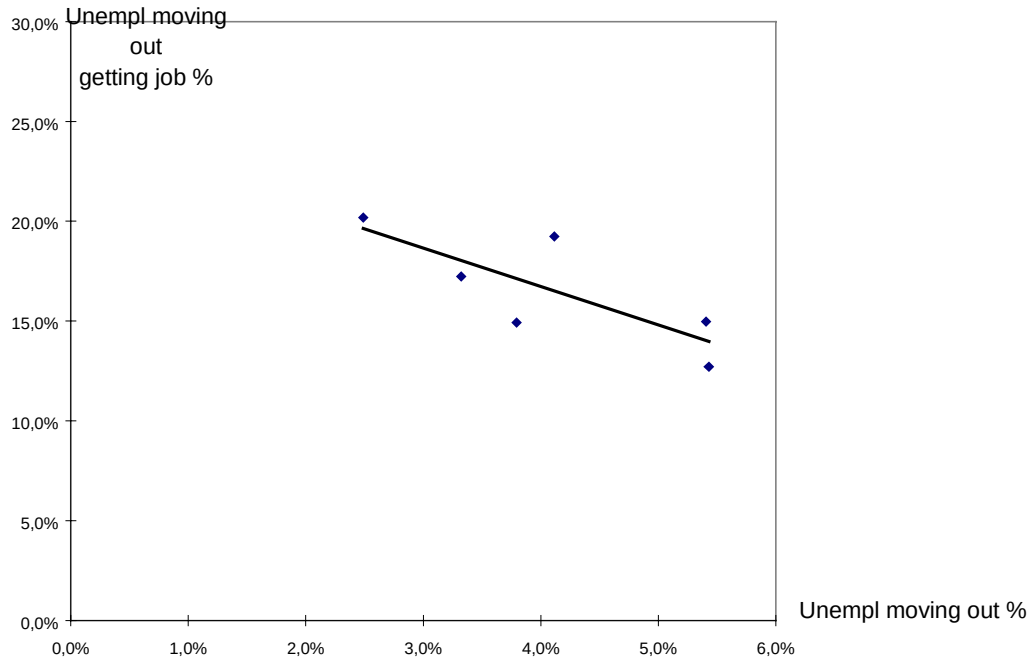

Figure 5. Pull factor. Percent of unemployed out-movers getting a job and percent of unemployed moving out 1993. Six counties.

Among the movers from six analysed counties, it was better to move in three cases and to stay at home in the other three. The unemployed in the metro area (AB), university region, (E) and in the rural and sparsely populated region were better of if the stay at home compared to move with regard to unemployment and dependence of social benefits. In the other three cases it was better to move than to stay. The difference between the alternatives is, however, not so large - only for the sparsely populated Jämtland there is any difference worth mentioning. For the other counties it makes no difference if they move or stay with regard to unemployment and dependence of social benefits.

The picture is somewhat different if we take a look at the job possibilities - in all six cases it s better to stay than to move. If the aim of the out-migration was to find a job it is obvious that it would be more rational, ex post, to stay in the home region where the information about the labour market ought to be better for job-seekers than in regions far away. Even in this case the rural and sparsely populated Jämtland is unique. From three counties - Jököping (F), Örebro (T) and Västernorrland (Y) a large part of the unemployed out-movers was going to studies.

If we instead compare the in-migrants with both the out-migrants and the stayers the picture is even here different. According to unemployment and dependence of social benefits the in-migrants are better of in four cases compared to the stayers in the in-migration area - for the metro area (AB), small-scale manufacturing (F), regional centre (T) and even large-scale manufacturing (Y). Especially in the latter case there is a difference worth noticing. This region was very hard hit by the structural crisis in the industrial sector and the unemployment was high.

The explanation to this perhaps paradoxical situation is, however, that the in-migrants were not of same kind as the ordinary stayer. Among the female unemployed in-migrants, only one third - 35 percent -was going to unemployment or dependence of social benefits and half of them got a new job. Only one fifth - 20 percent - of the female in-movers was still in unemployment.

With regard to in- and out-migration, it seems better to move in than to move out in four cases - Stockholm (AB), Jönköping (F), Västernorrland (Y) and Jämtland (Z) - and in one case Östergötland (E) it is better to move out than to move in if the aim is to get a job. According to Örebro county (T), it does not matter if you are moving in or out - the possibilities to get a job are the same in both cases. According to the university region - Östergötland - it seems apparent that many of the unemployed in-migrants are going to study - only Västernorrland (Y) has a larger share students among the unemployed in-movers.

Table 5a. The composition of unemployed out-migrants in six counties 1992/1993.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	29	9	42	20	7.4	13.2
E	26	10	49	15	9.6	14.1
F	23	12	53	12	13.2	18.3
T	29	10	45	16	13.8	17.2
Y	28	13	46	13	11.3	15.5
Z	21	10	57	12	13.2	19.6

Table 5b. The composition of unemployed in-migrants in six counties 1992/1993.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	33	12	40	15	9.2	11.7
E	22	14	47	17	10.2	14.0
F	32	9	45	14	10.4	13.6
T	29	10	46	15	11.5	16.5
Y	35	16	41	9	11.4	15.8
Z	29	9	40	21	12.5	13.7

Table 5c. Out-migrants who are unemployed 1993 and their status 1992.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	62	3	23	11	7.4	13.2
E	44	8	33	14	9.6	14.1
F	45	5	38	12	13.2	18.3
T	49	4	36	12	13.8	17.2
Y	49	5	33	13	11.3	15.5
Z	49	3	38	9	13.2	19.6

Table 5d. In-migrants who are unemployed 1993 and their status 1992.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	50	7	31	11	9.2	11.7
E	46	8	35	12	10.2	14.0
F	48	4	35	13	10.4	13.6
T	52	5	32	10	11.5	16.5
Y	58	5	29	7	11.4	15.8
Z	53	4	37	6	12.5	13.7

Table 5e. The destination of unemployed stayers in six counties 1993. 1992´s stock and status 1993.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	32	8	43	16	4.1	5.2
E	29	8	52	11	5.2	7.0
F	30	7	54	10	5.1	7.2
T	30	6	55	9	7.0	8.9
Y	34	5	52	8	6.4	8.2
Z	34	9	50	7	5.9	8.0

Table 5f. The recruitment of unemployed stayers in six counties 1993. 1993´s stock and status 1992.

County	Employed	Studies	Unemployed	Depending	Unemployed (%) 1992	Unemployed (%) 1993
AB	51	3	35	11	4.1	5.2
E	47	4	38	10	5.2	7.0
F	49	3	38	10	5.1	7.2
T	45	3	43	8	7.0	8.9

Y	48	2	41	9	6.4	8.2
Z	54	3	37	7	5.9	8.0

Preliminary Conclusions - to be elaborated in the final version

Interregional migration in Sweden has - after a long slow-down period - started to increase during the last five years.

The proportion of not economically active among the migrants has increased during the period of labour market crisis in Sweden. This means that more than 50 percent of the migrants are students, unemployed or depending on social welfare.

Empirical data show that increased migration among unemployed people is not necessarily associated with increased opportunities to employment in the new region of residence. In most counties, unemployed are more likely to get employed within one year if the stay. Hence, labour market related push and pull factors do not explain very much of the increased interregional migration.

References

Appearing in the final version